1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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crushed and mixed with fat. When the painting was completed, food from the young men's parents was brought to the old men. The old men also presented their "grandsons" with food. The food was then eaten. During the day the dancers and their "grandfathers" were in the dancing-lodge. In connection with the beginning of the dancing, a badger-skin was used. This was entirely wrapped, except at the head, in a flat rope of rawhide, half of which (one side?) was painted red, the other half black. This skin lay on the ground before the pledger of the dance, in or in front of his small enclosure, with the head toward the east. Glowing charcoal was laid before the row of bows, and sweet-grass (niasō; Arapaho, niox^{u}) was put on the coals to incense the bows. The pledger, rising, took the badger-skin, and, holding it with the head pointing forward, walked slowly around the inside of the lodge, and then to the smouldering incense, over which he made four passes with the skin; then returning to his enclosure, he laid the badger-skin on the ground. Taking out a stick tied in with the skin, he struck the skin as hard as he could. At this, a singer at the middle of the back or western end of the lodge — who held a stick as high as a man, wrapped with buckskin, and with buffalo or antelope hoofs hanging along its length — struck the end on the ground, thus beginning the rattling that accompanied the singing. The old men began to sing, while the dancers simultaneously blew their whistles, and cried "Yaa!" The old men stood up and sang, and the dancers went to them, each of them to his "grandfather," usually three or four to one old man. The old men then drilled them, showing them how to dance and how to handle their bows and their robes. It seems that the dancers stood at the opening of the lodge, somewhat on the south. After dancing to four songs, during which they whistled and at the end of each of which they cried "Yaa," they dashed off in a race around a monument that had been erected at some distance to the southeast. If one of the division of tall men returned to the lodge first and thus won the race for his side, the short men filled pipes for the tall men and presented them to them to smoke, and, of course, *vice versâ*.

After the cessation of the dancing, and when it was dark, old men cried out to the people to retire to their tents, the dancers' wives being about to go out with the "grandfathers." As the women went out, the dancers stood in the lodge in a circle, singing loudly and shouting in conclusion. The "grandfathers" went to the north of the camp-circle, where they stood in a row. Their "grand-daughters," that is to say, the dancers' wives, each carrying a pipe, followed them, and stood behind them. They addressed their "grandfathers," praying them to take the pipe and smoke it. After much persuasion, the old man accepted the pipe. Then the woman prayed to him again, asking him to pray in her behalf, that she might be

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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Each society had its distinctive songs which would be used by its component companies in carrying out their police duties during the Sacred Dances. Both had their "begging songs," as well as their marching and dance songs. Everyone in camp would know from the songs which of the societies was performing.

In connection with the distinctive dance of either society was first the preliminary "begging." This meant that the members of the society, dressed in their best and mounted on their finest horses, would select the lodges of prominent men belonging to the opposite society in front of which they would sing.[14] The leaders of the society were supposed to be present on these begging expeditions, otherwise their enemy-friends could take advantage of their absence and twit them by singing a special song.[15] The members of the society might be accompanied by their wives, who helped out in the singing, and usually a member of the society would suggest that they sing in front of the lodge belonging to his enemy-friend of the opposite society. If, while they were singing, the owner of the lodge failed to appear, his enemy-friend would peep into the lodge and at this the owner, assisted by his relatives, would get busy and give food to be used in the feast of the society which was doing the begging. If the owner of the lodge were a prominent man, who wished to take this occasion to enhance further his reputation, he might give something really valuable to the singers and would have the opportunity later of bragging: "On such-and-such an occasion, this is what I gave you Wolf-men (or Star men)." If he were a really good sport, our informants said, he would even send his wife out to sing with the others. After something had been given to the society, the singers sang other special songs,[16] while the rest danced.

After obtaining in this fashion the wherewithal for the feast, the society members lined up two-by-two at the entrance of the camp circle. The two noted men carrying whips remained mounted, while the column stepped in time to the music provided by the singers who were carrying the drum at the end of the procession. They wove in and out, snake-dance fashion, while

[14] A begging song of the Wolf-men was recorded as No. 98; two such songs of the Stars, as No. 96 and 97.

[15] Recorded as No. 101.

[16] Recorded as No. 95 and No. 100.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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CHAPTER V

WAR AND PRESTIGE

Organization and Conduct of the Party

721 554 Recognition was granted for any accomplishment that involved risk of life at the hands of the enemy. The constantly recurring attacks upon the Gros Ventres by one neighboring tribe or another offered many opportunities for the display of bravery, but those who joined in taking the initiative against the enemy had the greatest chances of accumulating impressive war records. Consequently parties set out at frequent intervals with the avowed purpose either of stealing horses or of avenging loss of Gros Ventre life.

721 Although it was not uncommon for two or three men to go off quietly together when raiding for horses, if a larger number was involved, some formalities were observed. The man who decided to lead a war party had his intention publicly announced around the camp circle by a crier and any who wished might volunteer to join him. A young man, untried in war, would hardly set himself up as leader in this way, but would be anxious to follow someone whose reputation for bravery was already well established.[1]

533 721 [782] Ordinarily, when the group was composed of ten or more men, there were some preliminaries the night before the party set off. The members gathered and sang in front of lodges of those they hoped would be able to help them. Each man so selected at least prayed for the success of the party as he gave them a smoke and fed them. In addition, if he had ammunition or clothing or something of the kind that would be useful on the expedition, he donated these to the party. It was said that an occasional man would "be so pleased with what the party was about to do" that he sent his wife out to sing with them. Thus the party sang around the camp circle in front of various lodges and, after agreeing on

[1] Sometimes young men were restless and sang around the camp circle to indicate their willingness to go on a raid if someone would lead them. Such a song was recorded as No. 70.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

what time they should meet the next morning to start off, they dispersed.

Before leaving camp the next day, the party again sang in front of the lodges which they had approached the night before. This same tune was also sung while the party was en route, words being composed to suit various occasions. This tune was known as the "men's song" and was said to have been given to the Gros Ventres by Nihiatu, the culture-hero. Other songs were also sung while the party was away from camp as, for example, on the first night out when they lamented their absence from friends and loved ones.

Various duties were assigned by the leader, and all, but especially the youngest members of the party, were expected to do their part. If a young fellow were "lazy" on a raiding expedition, the leader would see to it that he was punished. An accepted way of accomplishing this end was on the sly to substitute strips of rawhide for the usual strips of meat in the container used by the young man. When the party started to eat, all would watch this particular young man and, as he pulled out the rawhide, they would laugh at him. It was said that young men in this predicament would be so humiliated that they would actually cry. It was a serious matter at the time, and also offered good material to be used later by potential enemy-friends who might have witnessed this embarrassing situation.

Along this line, it is interesting to note the detailed procedure of one man, which may or may not be typical of the behavior of leaders in disciplining members of their party. "This particular leader, known as Eater, a contemporary of Running Bear, was highly respected and feared because it was known that when he led a war party he expected the other members to live up to the high standard he set by his own actions. If, however, he found that someone in the party was not doing his duty, in the evening he would start singing a song which he had acquired through a dream. All the young men would be apprehensive, wondering which of them was to be humiliated. The others would take up the song while Eater alone would dance, imitating a wolf by placing one hand on the forehead and the other behind him to represent the tail. He would circle around, dancing in this manner, until he came to the victim. Whereupon he would stop in front of the

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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726 626 latter and raise his leg in imitation of a urinating dog. All would know then on whom Eater's displeasure had fallen, and the young man in question would break down and sob. That would cure him of laziness."

726 318 Among the important duties on a war party were those of the water-carrier. If the mission were to be performed under more than ordinarily dangerous circumstances, young men might volunteer for the job, but usually the leader chose someone for it. A water-carrier had to have courage and resourcefulness because in order to fetch water it might be necessary that he be sent long distances without guard, and then have to catch up with the group in case the rest had to move. When the members of the party [482] [534] [533] sighted the water-carrier returning successfully bearing the skin water-container attached to a pole, a song was sung by the war party as they marked time by beating two sticks together.[3]

726 Scouting was another important aspect of a war party. The leader selected two well-qualified men for this job. "They had to have courage and endurance for, while scouting, they would run instead of walk and not eat until their mission was completed." Scouts were called "wolves" and wore wolf-skins as insignia and [714] sometimes, at least, would stick brush on their heads so they could not be so easily spotted against the horizon.[3] They went to high [533] places to look around. If the enemy were not in sight, they might sing, making up words to the tune mentioned as having been sung before the party left camp.[4]

If the scouts saw indications of the enemy, such as smoke rising from a coulee, but without actually seeing the enemy sufficiently clearly to identify them, on their return to the party they gave a wolf howl as they approached and proceeded in a sharp zigzag path. If, however, they had more definite information, they gave the wolf howl and approached in a circular path; that is, advanced, turned in a circle, advanced again, turned in a circle, advanced again, turned in a circle and halted. They were then met by two older men who had been successful scouts in their day. While the [533] scouts were approaching—occasionally looking back over their

[3] Recorded as No. 130.

[3] For illustrations, see Curtis, v. 5, p. 176.

[4] Samples of this kind of song were recorded as No. 23 and No. 24.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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shoulders and barking like wolves—the party sang three songs, one to accompany the scouts as they made each circle.[5] 726 [533]

The two older men who met the scouts were told by them privately what they had seen. The four then went to a mound of buffalo chips which had been piled up, the rest of the party awaiting the scouts standing in a semicircle—the women, if present, behind the men—and all facing the direction from which the scouts had come. They sang while the two warriors and two scouts circled the mound of chips four times.[6] After each of the two older men had recited his war deeds in scouting for and locating the enemy, they called upon the scouts to relate to the whole party the results of their expedition.[7] [533]

It sometimes happened of course that there would be no time to go through the above ceremony if the enemy were approaching. But if time allowed it was done in that fashion.[8] Then the leader laid out plans to steal horses and/or get scalps, according to the news which the scouts had brought in. The leader would instruct the rest of the party where to meet after the raid, how long to wait there before starting for home, what signals he would use to indicate the moment of attack, and what signals of identification were to be used between members of the party should it be dark when they closed in on the enemy. It was stated that the Gros Ventres usually attacked in the evening after dark, whereas the Sioux were more apt to attack in the early dawn. Should the plans of the leader not seem satisfactory, some of the party might offer objections. The leader, feeling himself responsible for the safety of all members of the party, put forth his case, but the others were not bound to follow him and, if no agreement could be reached, the party might split. One consideration which tended to keep the party together was, however, the fact that there was a fine paid to the rest of the party by one returning to camp ahead of the others. [681]

[5] A song without words, recorded as No. 14, accompanied the first circling. Songs at the second and third circling had words, composed by enemy-friends of the scouts, the words usually being both derisive and vulgar.

[6] This was recorded as No. 15.

[7] Kroeber's account, p. 191, differs slightly. Cf. also Curtis, v. 5, pp. 181–82.

[8] The formalities of scouting were carried out in detail during the ceremonies of the Sacrifice Dance. See Cooper Ms. 1949.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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When close to the enemy, each member of the party unwrapped his war medicine in preparation for the real battle. While painting themselves and putting on their charms and other regalia, the warriors sang.[9] Lame Bull, for instance, had a "medicine" war bonnet and there was a special song without words which he sang as he donned it; if there was time, the rest of the party danced while he sang and drummed.[10] Other songs might be sung immediately before going into battle.[11] The words of one such song imply: "If I am killed it doesn't matter; women will bear other children to take my place; I am ready to die." Some individuals, too, had special songs of their own to be sung as they made the charge against the enemy.[12]

The most daring men in battle were said to have been those who wished to die. Men who were grieving over the loss of loved ones were believed to have been especially prone to this indirect method of suicide. Others took this way of gloriously ending their lives out of a sense of pique, or in order to vindicate their honor. In this latter case it was customary for a man who had something discreditable to account for, either on his own part or on the part of some member of his family, to publicly announce that he was about to die by singing the "brave-song" or "death-song" as he rode around the camp circle. This indicated that he would seek the earliest opportunity of losing his life at the hands of the enemy while accomplishing some particularly outstanding war-deed.[13]

It was recognized that even the bravest of men might experience acute fear during battle. "Their souls kind of left them on account of the danger. They looked different from normal and their minds seemed not quite clear. Lame Bull used to say that the effect was quite similar to that of drinking too much whiskey—

[9] Kroeber, 1908, pp. 192–93 gives details and illustrations of supernatural paraphernalia for war. War medicines, illustrating those which had belonged to Bull Lodge, are presented here, Plate 3, courtesy of Richard Pohrt.

[10] The song recorded as No. 76 is Lame Bull's and is said to be typical of this class of songs.

[11] Two were recorded as No. 16 and No. 17.

[12] Lame Bull's song was recorded as No. 77.

[13] Two such "brave-songs" were recorded as No. 111 and No. 112. See also p. 191.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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726 wanted a downpour of rain. At once a cloud appeared and in no
787 time it was a big black storm cloud. Then there was a wind and
769 a very heavy storm and thus the Gros Ventres got safely back to camp. The only loss on this occasion was that of two fine horses, one played out and the other foundered from drinking when overheated."

Return of the War Party

727 After a successful encounter with the enemy, the homecoming was a joyful one, provided no Gros Ventre lives had been lost. As they approached the camp, appropriate songs were said to have been sung by the victorious party. If, for instance, they had stolen horses there was one type of song. On the other hand
[302] when scalps had been taken, they sang other kinds of songs and painted themselves with charcoal. Incidentally, the Gros Ventres had a saying that "women and children do not make good charcoal." Women and children should be captured but not killed and scalped.[16]

When the victorious party arrived, they circled the outside of the encampment before entering. "Then the party broke, each member surrounded by his womenfolk who crowded around, kissing him and taking the scalps or other trophies which had been won. After a reasonable interval, the crier called all to come to
[302] the center of the circle and dance. Men and women alike blackened their faces with charcoal, and the women, carrying scalps attached to poles, or weapons captured from the enemy, danced as innumerable victory songs were sung. Only members of the war party were allowed to join with the women in dancing. Many husbands, who had to stand on the sidelines, were jealous of the brave warriors at a time like this."

727 Most of the songs sung during the victory celebration had
533 words which referred to encounters wherein the Gros Ventres had been successful. New words were often made up to commemorate a particular incident. One of these songs had the following words: "Where are you going? I've been here all the

[567] [16] Cocking, p. 112, mentions in 1772 that the Gros Ventres adopted "slaves" of both sexes into families who had lost their children either by war or sickness.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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time, thou with grey hair." [17] It refers to a particular Crow who had long grey braids. This man had captured some Gros Ventre women who were out picking berries and had returned to the Crow without having killed a man or stolen horses. His fellow-tribesmen taunted him with his "weakness" and in order to vindicate his honor he again sought out the Gros Ventres and was killed by them. The song was composed by the husband of one of the captured Gros Ventre women.

Another song, classed as a victory song, was composed by an old man whose faith in a younger man was justified. The young man had had a supernatural vision and, although he was as yet untried, he successfully led a war party.[18] Still another song was composed on the occasion on which a Piegan, who had survived a partial scalping, was killed by the Gros Ventres.[19]

Even though the party might have succeeded in taking scalps, if any of their number had been killed, the return was a sad one. Whenever feasible they brought back the bodies of the slain from the field of battle. In any case, there was no circling of the camp nor singing. Nor was there a victory dance unless close relatives of the deceased warriors gave permission. An example to illustrate the procedure may be taken from the description of a serious encounter between the Gros Ventres and Sioux, known as the Battle of Black Butte which occurred in 1871 or 1872, upstream from the present site of Havre.[20] "There were approximately 30 lodges of Gros Ventres who were greatly outnumbered by the Sioux. Nevertheless, about 30 Sioux were killed and only one Gros Ventre lost his life. On the return of the party, the father of this one victim said: 'I give you charcoal. My son is lying on many.' So they were able to celebrate that victory in a big way." [21]

More often, however, when Gros Ventres were killed in battle, an outstanding relative of one of the deceased volunteered to or-

[17] Song recorded as No. 19.

[18] This was recorded as No. 22.

[19] Song recorded as No. 106. Other songs used at the victory dances were recorded as No. 117, No. 118, No. 119, No. 123, No. 124.

[20] His own part in this encounter is described by Black Wolf in Kroeber, 1908, pp. 203-04.

[21] A song recorded as No. 91 was said to have been composed to commemorate this occasion.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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baby was laid in the powder and rubbed under its arms, between its legs, under the toes, between the fingers,—wherever the baby might chafe. "The baby feels fine then and goes right to sleep." When no buffalo chips were available horse manure treated the same way was an adequate substitute. Fresh powder was put in the sack each day, and in the winter it was first heated. 854 278 234

Sometimes accidents happened. One time when a man named Fork (of a tree) was a baby, his grandmother was tending to him. She had heated the powdered chips in the sack with a hot stone and forgot to remove it. The baby cried and cried. Finally they unbound him and found that his toe was right against the hot rock. This injured his toe and he always walked with a peculiar gait. Cora has a scar on her buttocks which she thinks came from a similar accident.

If the father's sister failed to provide a sack and none was forthcoming from any other relative, the mother would wrap the infant in a skin and tie it with straps. Coming Daylight said that before her time they used a cradleboard. If they had a travois they would carry the baby on that. "Some, if they didn't have a cradleboard, used a piece of stiffened leather hooked over the saddle horn." 854

When the infant was old enough to move its arms, the arms were left free of wrappings. The infant was kept in the sack day and night. When not being carried about, it was hung either from one of the lodge poles inside the lodge, or swinging from the travois placed upright against the lodge. Lullabies were sometimes sung.[8] At night, the infant was right beside its mother, and the father usually slept in separate bedding so as not to crowd the child. When the powder in the sack was changed, they let the baby play around and stretch "because babies must have gotten tired staying in those sacks." [533]

Toilet training was started when the infant was between six and twelve months old. "The baby is more alert and easier to handle then. You just guessed at the time and opened the sack and held the baby out, supporting it under the knees and thighs. The child would usually respond. If there were a delay, then you talked to him and made a hissing noise to encourage him. You 863

[8] Unfortunately no lullabies were recorded.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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them, he was afraid to go to his own home, so he ran to a neighbor's. Jim's father found him there half-crying. He took Dwarf by the wrist and said: 'Come my friend.' He led him to his home and Dwarf thought he was going to be killed. On the contrary, however, Jim's father led him into his lodge and said: 'My friend, I am glad you made my boy cry. I have never laid a hand on him nor did I ever make him cry, and I'm glad you have done this.' He then gave Dwarf a big pile of meat and told him to eat as much as he liked and to take the rest home. As Dwarf was leaving Jim's father took a valuable Hudson's Bay blanket and cut it in two and gave him half saying: 'Here is this, use it for your blanket.' Then he took another half-blanket and said: 'Have your mother make leggins for you. Friend, I am glad you made my boy cry. I thank you for it. Now you can go home.' It just so happened, fortunately for Dwarf, that Jim Shortman was a beloved-child."[8]

Occasionally girls, or sometimes boys and girls together, formed a group in the evening to sing in front of the lodge of a rich family who they knew had such a specially loved child. The group danced and sang and then the woman of the lodge would invite them in. She would feed them and say that she was doing so in the name of that beloved-child.

Coming Daylight described how she joined groups who were going around the camp circle singing in front of the lodges of those who had returned successfully from a war party. This was before she was married and so she had to get permission from her grandmother. Mounted on a horse with a girl friend her own age, whose brother was supposed to keep an eye on them, they rode with the others. Singer admitted she had not participated in such singing parties when she was a child because she never had a horse to ride upon.

Much of the leisure time of children was seemingly spent in play which reflected the daily routine of adult life as well as many aspects of the life cycle. A group went quite far outside the camp circle, for instance, to play they were "married folk." If little boys went along with the girls, some would be "husbands," some "sons" and "sons-in-law." The "women" would tell their

[8] For details on the concept of the beloved-child, see Flannery, 1941.

787 made up my mind that I did not want such power, the immediate reason for my refusal being that I had seen doctors who swallowed what they had sucked from the weak spot in patients whom they cured, and I just couldn't bring myself to have to do likewise."

857 562 Although boys had much more freedom than had girls, they too were assigned tasks at a fairly early age. One of the responsibilities of boys was to water the horses during the day. At about the age of fourteen, however, a boy would be required to take the horses out to graze immediately after taking his morning plunge. He would be gone perhaps three or four hours and would eat only after he returned.

857 868 852 The play of younger boys with bow and arrow was training for later life. The older boys accompanied the men on hunting parties and by the time they were about 18 most were skilled hunters. Some families, it was said, took advantage of the fact that [431] a boy would have killed his first big game,—antelope, deer, buffalo, —by making a feast at which this game was served. On such an occasion the boy stood at the center and gave away property, such as horses and blankets provided by his father or uncle, in [421] order to mark the event. This was considered training for the way he should behave in later life in regard to his own property.

857 868 Boys were trained in trapping as well as hunting. There were certain songs which were sung by grandparents as the boys danced around in the lodge both before and after trapping. These songs [533] were supposed to bring luck in finding game.

[777] Sometimes when older boys were out taking care of horses, they would band together, daub their faces and bodies with mud as "war paint," and make a "raid" on the camp in order to steal meat which was drying on racks. The women who had worked so hard to prepare the meat got angry and sometimes fought the boys with sticks. Usually, the boys were successful, and would then cook the meat and have a wonderful feast,[1] far outside the camp circle.

[554] Men encouraged their sons to be brave, and a boy would be anxious to go along on a real raiding party just as soon as possible because a young man had no standing until he had risked his life. An adolescent boy who accompanied a war party had to be a man

[1] This type of raiding is also described by Kroeber, 1908, p. 182.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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and spectacular war deed before she granted her favors to him.[9] If he returned, she was supposed to keep her word, accepting him as her lover. In the other type of situation, it was taken for granted that a woman would succumb to the pleas of a man who had publicly announced his intention of virtually committing suicide. Such a man, by singing the "brave-song" as he circled the camp, indicated that he would seize the first opportunity thereafter to encounter the enemy but make no effort to defend himself.[10]

According to a number of stories that are told, it was not uncommon that a woman committed suicide when her lover failed to return from war. That this actually happened, in some cases at least, is vouched for by the following factual account given by Singer. "White people, on one occasion, invited some Gros Ventres to visit them. All of the people, whose lodges were near to that of my grandmother, went, except one woman. This woman was scraping a skin when word was announced that a certain young man had been killed at war. My grandmother, noticing that the sound of scraping had stopped, thought that this woman was resting, and after a little while started over to visit her. On the way, however, she heard a shot, and when she got to that lodge she found that this woman was dead. She had first dressed herself nicely in her best clothes and had then shot herself, pulling the trigger of the gun by means of a string attached to her toe. My grandmother had suspected an affair between this woman and the young man who had lost his life at war, but she hadn't known for sure until this woman committed suicide. In those days a woman would have kept such an affair secret. (Now since women have the law to protect them from their husbands, wives just don't care and boldly run around with anybody they fancy and talk back to their husbands, and everybody knows all about it.) But anyway, that woman was a good worker,—she was working for her husband when that bad news came about the death of her lover,—and of course her husband mourned for her."

It was said that women who had been cast aside by their hus-

[9] "This custom is said to have led to the death of many young men," Kroeber, 1908, p. 180.

[10] For further details on the "brave-song," see p. 92.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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posited in the north section thereof, which was reserved for the Pipe and for new keeper and co-keeper, who walked there from the retiring keeper's lodge, and for the ex-keepers, ex-co-keepers and two attendants. The cover of this northern section was down, but that of the southern was lifted up to let the people look in and watch. Into the southern section went a group of Sacrifice Lodge men and another of Stars, and each group sat in its own circle on either side of the interior. Other people would also come in till all space was occupied. Children were not allowed to fool around the double lodge and dogs were kept away, but the general public was welcome. During the following song contest the new keeper and co-keeper sat with heads covered and faces hidden.

When all was ready, at the word from the ex-keeper's party, the Sacrifice Dancers and Stars shouted and beat their drums, then stopped. After that the retiring keeper started singing the Flat Pipe song "My holiness, have pity on me," all the other ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers joining in. At the same time the Sacrifice Dancer and Star groups each started one of its own songs. The singing recalled the gladness that followed upon the first making of dry land, the increase and welfare of the succeeding generations under fidelity to the old beliefs and under good leadership, and the wish that the new keeper would perpetuate all this and that his leadership would be successful.

The simultaneous singing of the three distinct songs was also a sort of contest to see which group was "stronger," which group or individual would amidst this bedlam of conflicting choruses first sing false. Rivalry was keen but good-natured between the three groups of singers. The moment any one member of any of the three groups began to sing false, that is, if a Star sang the Sacrifice Dancer's song or an ex-keeper sang the Star's song, the singing stopped. Everybody knew at once which group had made the mistake, but not which individual. He had to confess. This was made public and everybody including the onlookers, laughed at and bantered the one who sang false and his group. Then a recess was taken and they sat around and chatted and smoked. After the recess, the same procedure was repeated; then came another recess, followed by a third contest and recess.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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down, at shoulder height and sang the incense song while the other members of his party joined in, and at the conclusion of the song said: "Yo!" Then he lowered his hand a little, sang with the others the same song, and ended with the recited "Yo!" Finally he further lowered his hand close to the hearth, sang with the others the same song, and at the end made three circles clockwise with his hand around the burning chip saying at each circle: "Yo'ho ho ho" (Yo followed by glottal stop; ho ho ho, in lower pitch, not emphatic), and after the third circle released the peppermint on the chip. Then he turned toward the south, and the same triple rite was repeated, and finally toward the west, with repetition of the rite.

Immediately after this, the retiring keeper, the new keeper, the retiring co-keeper, and the new co-keeper, in this order, fumigated themselves. Each put his (or her) hands palm down, in the peppermint incense smoke, rubbed his hands together, rubbed the left arm from the tips of fingers up to the shoulder with the right palm and the right arm likewise with the left palm. This was done three times. Then three times in succession he put his right palm over the incense, lifted his palm to his mouth, and inhaled. Then he held both palms over the incense and passed them from his mouth up over his face and hair to his occiput.

The Pipe child also went through both the peppermint laving and the fumigating rite in each case after the other four participants.

The retiring keeper next filled the Flat Pipe with tobacco. He took a little tobacco in the five fingers of his right hand, finger tips down, while holding the Pipe by the bowl in his left hand. Poising his right hand about a foot above the bowl, he spat a little. Then he made a pass with the tobacco down a little nearer to the bowl and spat. Next he repeated the pass still nearer, and spat, and put the tobacco in the bowl. Then he filled the bowl with tobacco. Then laid the Pipe down with stem to the east on sage brush between the hearth and the pipe bed. After this a recess was taken. The party chatted and smoked socially or left the lodge.

After the recess, the retiring keeper would say to all: "Let

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783 824 Flat Pipe. It was dried before being used for ritual purposes. In the olden days the Flat Pipe keeper and co-keeper had monopolistic control of it in curing. But nowadays a peppermint beverage, good for fits, spasms, and stomach disorder, is used by everybody.

788 801 The ritual number of the Flat Pipe is three, whereas that of the Feathered Pipe and the Sacred Lodges is four. Songs are sung three times, ritual gestures are in threes, and so forth. The old people when sitting around smoking socially used often to discuss the reason for this. Some held that Earthmaker sent only three animals down to dive for earth, because, for one reason at least, there were only three animals in the Flat Pipe bundle. Others held he sent four. But regardless of these opposing views on this point in the earthmaking, there was always complete agreement that the Flat Pipe ritual number itself was three, while that in the Feathered Pipe and Sacred Lodge rituals was four.

788 534 The musical instrument proper to the Flat Pipe ritual was the rattle (see Plate 1C). The drum, proper to the Feathered Pipe ritual, was not used. In the Flat Pipe ritual, the rattle was shaken clockwise in a sort of circle at breast height, whereas medicine men shook their rattles anti-clockwise and Star Dancers alternately back and forth.[1]

788 276 It may be added here that while the Flat Pipe was actually smoked only when it was being ritually transferred to a new keeper and when some individual had vowed to smoke it, and was never danced with, smoking the Feathered Pipe and dancing with it were common.

788 Among the more significant and more commonly recurring features shared by both the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe rituals were clockwise movements, singing, and the use of paint, buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb, and wild parsley.

Entering and leaving the keeper's lodge, ritual gestures, and so forth were consistently clockwise.

788 ● 533 Singing bulked large in the Flat Pipe rite, and, for that matter, in nearly every phase of Gros Ventre religious and social life. As Thomas Main put it speaking for himself and The Boy: "We cannot describe how much singing means in the lives of the Gros

[1] For description of Star Dance, see Flannery, 1953, p. 42.

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Ventres. They *sing!* This subject is one you cannot exhaust. You cannot put in words how they feel about it."

Singing, according to The Boy, had its origin at the time of the flood when Earthmaker was floating around on the raft with the Flat Pipe. He was being blown around by the wind, at the mercy of the elements. He was tired and utterly lonely. So he started to think: "I must do something about this. It is too hard. I have had enough of it." And thus he planned the making of dry land by sending the animals diving down for earth. He had all the power to make land from the bits of earth brought up by the turtle and hell-diver, but he decided to do the making solemnly and with dignity. So he composed the earthmaking song: "My holiness (or my power) respond to me (pity me)." He did not whisper or talk it, but sang it, and sang it loud, so that he could be heard all over, so that this first act would last forever, so that it would "be elaborate and have dignity" and would be respected and honored for all time. Up to the moment of the singing of this first song, he had been mute, silent; he had only thought, this was the first utterance. This was the origin of Gros Ventre singing. This song, taught them by Earthmaker, was the first their primeval ancestors ever sang. This first song was sung by Earthmaker four times in succession, to the east, south, west and north. But after this he discarded one of the four animals, the beaver, keeping the other three, and ordained that thenceforth, not four as in the very beginning, but three, should be the Flat Pipe sacred number, and its songs should be sung in threes and multiples thereof, and that ritual movements should be to east, south and west, leaving out the north as he had left out the beaver ("let the beaver stay there where it is cold").

So Earthmaker planned and taught the system of the Flat Pipe ritual, with songs proper to it that could not be sung on other occasions.

Singing was thus originally religious and sacred only. As time went on, songs were sung for other functions, social and political. Singing degenerated among the Gros Ventres and they fell farther and farther down until they made and sang songs for the most trivial things in their lives, and even unworthy things. On their

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788 first contact with whites they found that among these latter too singing had in similar fashion degenerated.
533

Among the birds and animals it was otherwise. They continued to sing as they had done at the earthmaking. They held fast to the privilege given them and did not abuse it or let their singing degenerate. So it was that the Gros Ventres used to go to the tops of buttes, hills and high mountains and to streams and forests, begging these animals and birds to give them songs, and in this measure to restore singing to its former purpose and dignity. But later the Gros Ventres sometimes prevailed even upon the animals and birds to teach them "no-good songs."

Nevertheless in spite of all this badness and degeneration the Gros Ventres never lost sight of the fact that they depended on the Supreme Being for everything. So whenever they had occasion to pray and perform their ceremonies, they sang. And with such sacred singing was so intimately associated the use of the pipe and tobacco that "one could hardly separate singing and pipe-smoking." In nearly all rites they entered in as a means of imploring the Supreme Being to grant the people's requests. The Gros Ventres learned by experience that if they sang and smoked and followed faithfully the rest of the Flat Pipe ritual, they could at least hope for a hearing by the Supreme Being. Smoking too, it may be added, like singing, later degenerated, a point to which we shall come presently.

[276 782]

533 Practically every Gros Ventre ceremony or social event began or was accompanied with song. And each of the many Gros Ventre songs had to be used on certain and only certain specified occasions. Thus, for example, it would not do at all to sing Pipe songs during social dances or in a hand game or at "good-time" gatherings. Each religious or secular occasion had its own song or set of songs. Very commonly a story teller would in the course of his or her narrative sing the song or songs the characters in the story were supposed to have sung.

Many Gros Ventre songs were wordless. In most of the worded ones, the words consisted of short pregnant phrases or sentences preceded and followed by wordless singing.

Two kinds of singers were recognized and distinguished: those who had good voices, and those who had knowledge of the

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melodies, wording, purpose, place, and meaning of many songs and could put the right feeling into their singing. The latter kind of singers were often the ones who taught the former how to sing correctly. One singer might be recognized as competent in religious or certain religious songs only, another for social songs only, and so forth. In each of the categories there were usually "one or several who were by far the best in bringing out this something in the song." Among the qualities of a good singer were and are: volume, clearness, wide range, sense of rhythm and ability to put life and feeling into the singing. Much too depended on "body motions, gestures, bodily interpretation, whole demeanor." Beating time too was an art; "anyone can take a stick and beat a drum but not everyone can beat it just right."

Many of the songs, both ritual and secular, contain words or expressions the meaning of which is not known today, or, although the meaning is known, the words or expressions are no longer in secular use or else differ appreciably in form from those in use.

For some songs, such as solemn religious ones, it was relatively unimportant whether the singer had a good melodious voice or not. In sacred songs the all-important thing was the ability to put the proper feeling into the singing, "to get the hearers to concentrate ears, eyes, mind and heart," whereas the singer who had only a good voice reached only the ears of the hearers.

"The old time songs," The Boy explained, "are very hard. You cannot learn them overnight. It is hard for the Gros Ventres today to learn the old, old songs, and most of the songs I sang for your records are from the old times. Especially difficult are the Flat Pipe songs. They just consume your breath, so to speak. You have to sing them very solemnly and it would not do to shake your voice. They are supposed to be serious. You can notice the difference in singers when several sing together; they [some of them] get out of breath. When Horse Capture was Flat Pipe keeper, at one ceremony he and I sang together, and the old fellow would get tired."

Among the most accomplished Gros Ventre singers of recent times are first of all The Boy himself, to whom we are indebted for 102 of the songs we recorded, and Charles Buckman, who sang 6 for us. The Boy mentioned, too, certain other renowned living

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singers: Tom Bad Road, Charlie Arms, Mrs. Katie Matt Croft, and Mrs. Albert Perry. Apropos of the last two, it may be added that women frequently sang and sing with the men, and the latter "like it when the women join in because this makes the singing colorful and nice."[7]

The Gros Ventres used many kinds of paint; some of Indian, some of white man origin; some in secular, some only in ritual uses. Powdered paints of different colors were gotten from traders and were used to paint parfleches and, by the men, alone, never by the women, to paint their bodies. A yellow paint was also gotten from the Cheyenne or from Cheyenne territory. On one occasion Coming Daylight brought a lot of this yellow paint which she had gathered there and gave enough of it to a Gros Ventre man to paint his big lodge with it. These paints were not sacred. A black paint, obtained from the Standing Rock region, was used in making fine lines on parfleches. Only the old women who made and painted the parfleches were the ones that gathered it, but it was not so sacred as the red paint used in face painting.

This sacred red face paint was in a class by itself, and was used in the Flat and Feathered Pipe rites, by the "grandfathers" in painting the wives during the Sacred Lodge rites, and apparently by the women in everyday painting of their own and the children's faces.[8] This special red paint was called, as also the yellow clay

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[7] About 1900 The Boy went along with the Gros Ventres on a 4th of July visit to the Piegan at Browning. All four groups, the Piegan, Blood, Blackfeet proper, and northern Piegan, were gathered there. In all the four there was only one man, a famous singer, who knew all the ceremonial dance songs, although some of the other Indians knew some of them, and he was imported by the Browning Piegan for the reason. The Boy heard him sing. The man did not have a nice clear voice, but he lived up to his reputation, for he knew the songs and their order for all the many rites and was kept busy all the time. And he cashed in handsomely with horses, blankets and money. He was able to make a living from his singing. The Boy learned some of the songs this man sang, and he sang one of them for us, that had the words: "You who are the ruler of all sacred (powerful) things having to do with all life, give me all of that so that I may use it all my life." The Blackfeet, The Boy added, think more of the Sun than do the Gros Ventres: it is their deity.

[8] See Flannery, 1953, pp. 144-45.

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were quite the same in both cases. The decision as to length was apparently optional with the keeper, and depended on his ability and willingness to cover the heavy costs of providing food and other necessaries. We shall describe the one-night one-day rite. 7967

The day before the sweating, the keeper would direct his assistants,—one of his brothers or grown sons or friends,—to get the 31 willows, the pole and other raw material for the sweat-lodge, and the sticks to tie the offerings, and would have his wives gather the required wood and uniform stones for the heating, pulverize charcoal, and tidy up the Pipe lodge.

After sundown the keeper had his wives take their children away from his lodge. All the people would know what was to take place in the keeper's lodge that evening and would keep quiet. Then, when in the keeper's judgment, all was quiet in camp and practically everyone had retired for the night, the keeper and a chosen assistant began preparing the offerings in the former's lodge, the Pipe lodge.

The keeper and his assistant began by laving themselves three times with chewed peppermint. Then the keeper filled his common pipe with tobacco, sang thrice the solemn smudge or incense song (No. 81) and dropped peppermint leaves on the sacred hearth, smudged himself (the assistant doing the same), smudged the common pipe, and prayed with it,—all with the same rites as at the Transfer Ceremony (pp. 44-54). Then after a good smoke with the common pipe, the two took a little rest. The incense song, like all others in the sweat-lodge rite, was sung without rattle or other accompaniment. [533]

After this, a fresh live buffalo chip was put on the sacred hearth, another peppermint smudge was made with the triple east, south and west orientation, and all the offerings were smudged by him and laid down. Then he sang another song (No. 79?) three times and started the actual tying of the offerings.

While the keeper was sorting out the offerings and selecting the one he considered the greatest and most valuable, the assistant blackened the sticks to which they were to be tied. This blackening was done by taking a bit of tallow in the palm of the hand, putting charcoal on it, rubbing the palms together, and then rubbing the palms on the stick. [386]

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*796 neck and down her breast. According to Al Chandler, first they would rub the left arm, then the right, then twice on the head. According to him, too, the co-keeper, before taking hold of the Pipe bundle to carry it, would smudge herself by putting first one foot and then the other over the ascending smudge, then rub her arms [and head?] as above.

The unwrapping and re-wrapping of the Pipe bundle at a rite in fulfillment of a vow to dance with the Pipe, and presumably at other rites, was carried out, according to Al Chandler in the following manner where the rite took place in the special double lodge. The co-keeper, when about to take hold of the heavy Pipe bundle in the keeper's lodge, would talk to it: "I am going to take you over there [to the double lodge]. Make yourself light." In carrying the bundle to the double lodge she would walk very slowly, making three stops on the way and a fourth just in front of the double lodge. This she entered on the left, proceeded clockwise, and deposited the bundle on a sage brush bed in the place of honor at the back of the lodge opposite the door. Before starting to unwrap the bundle, the keeper chewed a little sweet pine, spat on his fingers with it, made four motions or passes toward the bundle, and at the fourth touched and started untying the string at one end. We obtained no details on the unwrapping as distinct from the untying, or on the re-wrapping and re-tying. The bundle was re-tied after the dancing but before the terminal feast. After the whole dancing rite and terminal feast were over, the co-keeper took the bundle out of the double lodge and back to the keeper's lodge, without making the four stops on the way.

*796 ●533 The songs of the Feathered Pipe ritual were sung to the accompaniment of the drum and were less solemn, faster and more lively, than those of the Flat Pipe ritual. Informants agreed that there were many songs peculiar to the Feathered Pipe. According to The Boy at the more elaborate rites, sixteen different songs were sung, in four series of four each, each of the sixteen songs being sung four times. The total singings were thus 64 (4 x 4 x 4 x 4) as compared with the Flat Pipe 27 (3 x 3 x 3). We recorded six of these (Nos. 45-46, 126-29) as sung by The Boy, all six of them wordless. Number 45 was the song heard up in the air,

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with drumming, by the first keeper of the Pipe; number 46, the song sung when the feathered stick was danced with; numbers 126-29, the songs sung while He-who-dreams-of-Bha'a painted his shield. According to Jim Shortman there was a "song for everything" [of importance in the Pipe bundle], "even the owl." The Boy had heard one such song, containing the words: "owl he is telling me." According to the origin story of the Feathered Pipe, the first keeper at the very start was given and sang four songs; the others would thus have been added later, some at least during his life time.

The terminal feast with which the more elaborate Feathered Pipe rites ended differed it seems, only in minor details, from that of the Flat Pipe. According to Al Chandler, just before the eating began, a tiny piece of each kind of food prepared was given to the keeper. He then took one such piece, touched all the other pieces with it, held it up and prayed. He held it up to the Supreme Being, and prayed first of all to him, then to the Pipe, and sometimes to the Human Face and the owl. Sitting High used to talk to all four. But in all cases the Supreme Being was included and was addressed first. The Last Child was not mentioned. After the prayer was over, the keeper put the bit of food in the ground and left it there, not however for the Last Child. After the eating was over, if there was any food left which the people wanted to take out, some old man had first to tell one [or four?] of his war-deeds.

The paint on the bundle would wear off, and the bundle would need repainting at least once a year. While there was no seasonal spring rite proper, this repainting was usually done, by the keeper, in the spring time, about June, around the beginning of the thunderstorm season. This repainting rite was performed whether or not anyone had vowed a Feathered Pipe rite, but might be combined with such a vowed rite. In the course of this repainting rite, put on by the keeper and held in his lodge or in a specially erected double lodge, the keeper painted "the bundle red all over" and everything that belonged to the Pipe, including the Feathered Pipe drum and tripod, but did not dance with it. During the rite he would pray for rain and other blessings. If asked to do so, he would also paint the people. Everyone was free to attend the repainting rite, and big crowds would ordinarily come.

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We Recorded five of the Sacrifice Dance songs, but there were others, apparently many others. The skin-piercing song has been mentioned above. Another song recorded, a wordless one, number 49, as rendered by The Boy, was sung "when the old man [the grandfather] put the young fellow [his grandson, a 'dancer'] to sleep,"—a reference not clear to us. We also recorded another song, a wordless one, No. 51, as sung by The Boy. Another song, not recorded by us, but known to Singer, contained the words: "I soaked them with water."

The story back of one of the Sacrifice Dance songs, number 109, a wordless one, recorded by us as sung by Charles Buckman, was given us by him as follows:

"On one occasion the Gros Ventres held a Sacrifice Dance. Just then a new Sacrifice Dance song sprang up and was sung often during the four days and nights of the Dance. After the Dance was over, the people broke camp and moved to a site five or six miles down the creek. That evening a woman disappeared and no one knew what had become of her. The next day a searching party was sent out to find her. Some of the young fellows rode back toward where the Dance had been and when they got close they thought they heard someone singing. So they stopped and listened. Someone was singing this new song. 'It's a woman,' they said. 'Let's go and see.' So they rode up to the abandoned Dance lodge and inside it they saw the woman all alone shaking leaves (as was the custom) and singing this song. They took her and carried her back to the camp. There she had to be hobbled in order to be kept from running away. She died soon after."

Another Sacrifice Dance song, number 50, recorded by us as sung by The Boy, has the words: "The Fur Cap (an older Gros Ventre name for The Little Rockies) on the side (side hill or slope) of it. There is frivolity (sexual cutting up or looseness)." This song was composed on the Hays side of the big brush between what are now Hays and St. Paul's Mission. Ritual sex license did not enter into the Sacrifice Dance, but during the Dance when the leading people and their helpers were busy and all the tribe was gathered together some of the younger people might seize the opportunity to "play a little," as The Boy euphemistically put it. Mothers would be anxious about their daughters. At any

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rate it was apparently a well-known song, as Singer also, who knew some of the Sacrifice Dance songs, knew it and spoke of it. 796* [533]

Besides the sacrifice offerings, previously mentioned, of the trimmed pieces of flesh, and the self-torture looked upon itself as a sort of "sacrifice," other offerings of clothing, dry goods and so forth were made at the Sacrifice Dance. These offerings were made, Coming Daylight stated, "to ask the Supreme Being to give them a long happy life," and both she and Singer on another occasion affirmed that the "sacrifice" in the Sacrifice Dance was offered to the Supreme Being.

Further, apart from the gifts made by vowers to their ritual grandfathers for the skin piercing and to the Flat Pipe keeper by the principal vower, presents were commonly given away by relatives of the self-torturers to third parties,—old people, visitors from neighboring tribes, or others,—in honor of the self-torturers, or perhaps of others, too. At one Sacrifice Dance, Singer was allowed by her husband, Crooked Arm, to be present because her mother's brother was to participate (apparently as a self-torturer) in it. "I gave," she said, "a dress and a blanket in my uncle's honor. I put them down and a woman grabbed them immediately. When nobody grabbed the things, someone would go around and give them to old people. Most of the stuff was just piled up and then all of it was given away. If there were visitors present from another tribe, they would be given some of the stuff. Someone told that woman right there that she should not have grabbed those things, but they were not taken away from her. People used to give away even horses at a Sacrifice Dance." Coming Daylight's uncle, Crow Bull, gave an Assiniboine, Old Man Pigeon Toes, a horse at a Sacrifice Dance in which her husband, Little Man, took part in the "sham Battle." "Through these presents," she added, "Old Man Pigeon Toes claimed relationship with Crow Bull and called me 'grandchild.' The Assiniboine are worse than the Gros Ventres for claiming relationships!" 796* 431

As is obvious, it cost a vower, particularly the principal vower, a great deal to put up a Sacrifice Dance, and the occasion was also a considerable drain upon the resources of his relatives. Perhaps this, rather than any ritual prohibition, was the reason why, 796*

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been told to do and put up the Drum Dance. Thus was the Drum Dance introduced among the Gros Ventres into their sacred dance system."

When Lame Bull told The Boy this story, the latter asked him: "Who was it who gave this dance and these horses?" And his father answered: "The killdeer." So the Drum Dance is owned by the killdeer (*Oxyechus vociferus*).

The Drum Dance ranked high in dignity among the Sacred dances. Lame Bull ranked it next after the Sacrifice Dance, and first in importance in the Drum-Dog-Kitfox-Crazy group, because, he told The Boy, the Drum Dance was "most difficult and complicated to carry out," and through it "more horses had come to the Gros Ventre tribe."

The Drum Dance was held only in fulfillment of a vow. The rite lasted the customary four days and nights, with a big feast each day. The Boy was uncertain whether a sweat-lodge ceremony was held during the Drum Dance.

The chief sacred objects used in the Drum Dance were, so far as we could learn, the very large drum, and the fur-wrapped crooked sticks which were carried by the dancers and which to judge from the origin story were four in number and were decorated as therein described. The dancers themselves were painted yellow all over their bodies, with black dots, representing hail, from the waist up.

Four of the Drum Dance songs, numbers 52-55, were recorded, as sung by The Boy, who had learned them from his father, Lame Bull. There were others which The Boy did not remember, nor did he know the ritual order in which they were sung.

Two of these four songs, numbers 52 and 53, are wordless, and were sung at good-time dances during the Drum Dance. Number 53 is the song that was sung by the men marching out of the dry lake-bed when the Drum Dance was first given to the starving Gros Ventre man by the killdeer. These dancing songs were lively ones, sung to fast time.

Song number 54 is difficult to translate as the meaning of two of one of the words was unknown. The Boy ventured the conjecture that the whole wording might possibly mean: "There are

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so many other people (besides the Drum Dance men) whom I am carrying that I don't care about the rest of them." He recalled in this connection a Gros Ventre children's game in which they split into two groups and one child from one group goes over to the other group and carries the members thereof one by one to his side. At any rate, this was the first song sung by the Drum Dance men at the first stop they made when going to fight the Piegan (in the story to be given presently).

The words of song number 55 refer to the place of the future life where the lodge of the Drum Dance men is all ready to receive them if they die in the battle. They were supposed to be ready to sacrifice their lives, feeling they would go to the Big Sand where they would be better off than here. As these words were sung, the men would point with their thumbs toward where the Big Sand was located, in the north, and would face in that direction. In the sign language pointing is done only with the index finger. Pointing in this special way, with the thumb, was done to signify that the men so pointing were doing a brave thing, were courageous and not chicken-hearted, and were ready for the worst. Some further light upon the meaning and context of this song, as well as upon certain other aspects of the Drum Dance, is shed by the following story narrated by The Boy, and confirmed in part by a less detailed version of it by Coming Daylight who stated somewhat cryptically that "these (Drum Dance) men never stood back [retreated?], they always made an attack on the enemy." Singer also stated, likewise rather cryptically, "Iron Bucket [her husband] told me they (the Drum Dancers) would go away off on a war path and stay four days and spy on their own camp and go back to war." The Boy's story was as follows:

"On one occasion during a Drum Dance which had been put on in fulfillment of a vow, a group of Gros Ventre men went out to hunt buffalo. While they were out they were attacked by some Piegan. The Piegan were on foot, while the Gros Ventres were on horseback, so it was easy for the latter to get away. It occurred to the Gros Ventres that they might play a trick on the Piegan and make a lot of sport for the occasion of the Drum Dance. So they detailed one of their number to go back and notify their camp

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Two young men attendants were chosen, but there was no police force, according to The Boy who said none was needed in the case of these "harmless" and "venerable" old men dancers. In general, The Boy had the impression that people had not cared much what these old men did in their Dance and did not go to it much, for it had "no color to it, nothing lively about it."

The dance lodge,—a "very simple little hut" according to The Boy and Thick; a "big round camp" according to Coming Daylight,—was put up outside the camp circle, toward the south thereof. The dancers carried out their rites "sort of secretly." They could be heard singing and dancing inside their lodge, but they did not go around much in public view afterwards as the women did in their Dance. The rattles used to accompany the singing were sticks about a foot or foot-and-a-half long with big buffalo calf hoofs on one end, and were very noisy. The leader's stick was larger and its butt end was pounded on the ground to keep time.

Two of the Dance songs, numbers 67 and 68, were recorded as sung by The Boy. Number 68 was sung while the old men were dancing and contains their particular yell.

The other song, number 67, has the words meaning: "You first (or leading) (buffalo) bull, come in this direction (come streaming in)." This song was a "half-prayer." The singers while singing it were wishing as hard as they could, so there would be plenty of buffalo and thus the people would not have to go far to hunt successfully. The very first original buffalo procreated other buffalo and singers wanted him to lead the other buffalo, his progeny, to the Gros Ventres. The wish-thought or "half-prayer" was directed, however, according to The Boy, not to the first buffalo, but to the Supreme Being so that the latter would provide buffalo.

The primary purpose of the Dance was pretty clearly that of bringing success in buffalo hunting. After the dance was over, the camp would move to another site, and then the people "would always run into a lot of buffalo and have good hunting luck." "Even if there were no buffalo nearby when this Dance had been going on, in some mysterious way many buffalo would come and even run around in the camp." Right after the very last time the Dance was performed, the people ran into a great many buffalo.

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These were fastened to the center pole "at the top," so that it was "full of goods that they offered." The offerings were made by "those who made the dance." Such an offering was made, for instance, by the woman above-mentioned who joined the dance for the recovery of her wounded brother. As at the Sacrifice Dance, too, when the Women's Dance was over and camp was moved, the lodge, center pole and attached offerings were all left just standing there.

The dancers, the two attendants and the "calf" or "calves," were painted, by the "boss" (and perhaps by others),—the dancers at least, "all over the face, then on top of the hair and down the hair hanging to the shoulders." During the painting the one painting would pray for the other being painted, and the latter might pray on her own account for whatever she desired, such as long life, medicine power, or other favors.

Of the songs sung during the Women's Dance we recorded only one, number 66, a wordless one, sung by The Boy. The singing was done or at least led by the old man (or two old men) who sat at the back of the lodge, and was apparently (the point was not cleared up by us) joined in by the chief vower and "boss," and also by the "cows." The singing was done to the accompaniment of the deer-claw rattles mentioned previously, and without the drum. Those dancing did not sing while dancing. "The singing in the Women's Dance," The Boy remarked, "sounded 'old,' quite different from the way a young woman sings." To Coming Daylight's ear "it sounded fine."

The dancing went on, not continuously, but intermittently, with intervals in between. Dancing was done by the "cows," attendants, and "calves," not by the "bull" who just sat in her place near the door with her horned headdress on and her head bowed down. The participants danced toward the back of the lodge, "kind of bouncing up and down in one place and shaking their heads from side to side." Coming Daylight, as a "calf," danced with the rest, near the door. According to Singer, the dances were done in series of four, as told her by one or two of her grandmothers who had been through the ~~Women~~'s Dance, and, if any of the "cows" did not get up to dance, the "bull" would "get busy" and "start

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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787 latter he would be told by the offerer to go to some other designated mountain to get what he was seeking.

The length of time a man would stay out on the mountain varied, the range being apparently from one to seven days, and of course the nights too. Power might be given in full daylight as well as at night. Various informants mentioned one to seven days, five to seven days, seven days, two to four days, four days. Sometimes questers were given power the very first day or night; others, only on a later day or night; others still not on the first quest at all, even though they remained five or seven days, but only on a following quest or after repeated quests; others, finally, never got power, not even a dream, even though they went out over and over again on the hills to seek power. Great medicine men got their full powers as a rule only after a number of years of repeated sleeping around on high buttes.

The recipient of power ordinarily got three things from the donor: a song, instructions on the rites to be observed in using the power, and some material object which was a symbol, and/or instrument vehicle of the power.

533 778 Singing, as we noted earlier (supra, p. 79), was originally gotten by the Gros Ventres from Earthmaker at the time of the great flood and was confined to sacred occasions. Later it degenerated and became secular as well. But among the birds and animals it did not degenerate; it kept its pristine sacredness. And these birds and animals and other beings would give their songs to questers for power, to each successful quester a specific song for his own use in exercising the particular power given at the time.

As The Boy explained it: "From time immemorial every Gros Ventre rite or ceremony began with song. . . . And when the Gros Ventres went out on the hills or to the forests to seek power and were granted a hearing and were going to be given power by rock, forest, animal or other creature, the granting always began by a song. . . . It was remarkable how they [the questers] could memorize these songs that were sung [to them] by these several creatures, and the recipients never forgot these songs and always had them foremost in their minds and never altered them in any

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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way. Others of course, learned them from the one to whom they were first given, but always sang them the same unaltered way."

An individual might have more than one kind of power, and hence more than one song. A doctor might have more than one doctoring song; Stiffarm, for example, had many. At any given time a great number of doctoring songs were in use by the many doctors. The four doctoring songs we recorded are only samplings. Only the person who acquired a power by quest or transfer had the right to sing the song or songs connected therewith except when requested to help sing with the owner at say a curing rite. A person who had acquired power songs could, if he desired, sing them in his lodge as bedtime songs.

The recipient of power was given and taught by the power-donor not only a song but also detailed instructions on other ritual procedures to be followed in exercising the specific power. These procedures will be described presently, in our section on power use and ritual.

At the time when power was bestowed, the recipient also got some power object. Sometimes they were given to him directly by the supernatural donor; sometimes the donor instructed the recipient where to find or how to make the power object, or just told him what kind of object to use. This object was often spoken of as the medicine or power of the possessor. So far as we could discover, the object was conceived of as more or less identical with the power or as the tangible embodiment, vehicle or instrument of it. The power object was consistently brought into play when the possessor made use of his power, as will be described later. A recipient might obtain at any given quest more than one such object from the donor.

These objects,—such as a weasel skin, otter skin, root, and so forth,—were commonly kept by the possessor in a skin bag as the possessor's medicine bundle. The Boy made a gift to us of the badger-skin medicine bag of his father, Lame Bull, who used to keep peppermint and a thunder-stone in it.

In many cases power objects were swallowed by the power-recipient when first given to him and were so retained within his body until he forfeited his power through breach of code or in-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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his power only when he was an active participant in the game. Keg, who had gotten gambling power from a prairie chicken, would, when using this power in a hand game, imitate the hissing, swishing noise made by the prairie chickens when they ruffle their tail feathers. He had been given by the prairie chicken its windpipe to use in the hand game, and for this he made use of a small metal spring resembling the windpipe. Red Whip, famous for his great gambling power, used a weasel skin in exercising this power. A player with power who was losing in a game might half seriously voice an appeal: "What is the matter with you, prairie chicken (or ghost)? You are failing me."

Only certain songs could be sung in a two-button hand game; others, such as doctors' songs or medicine lodge songs, could not then be sung. If one of the players had a gambling power song, gotten in a dream from a prairie chicken or ghost, he would start singing it and others would join in. Gambling songs were sung in fast time to the accompaniment usually of small hand drums, the players marked time by striking with sticks the logs that lay stretched in front of each team. After a game was well under way, in the excitement, grunts would often take the place of songs.

We recorded two gambling songs for the old hand game, numbers 107 and 108, as sung by The Boy.

Love power, more common than gambling power, was acquired, by quest or transfer, to attain various ends: by a man to secure sex favors from women who were reluctant to grant them, or who had not only rejected his advances but had privately or publicly met them with insult;[18] by a jilted lover to win back the jilting man or woman; by a man or woman to win over a desired but unwilling prospective marital mate; by a wife to win back the affections and fidelity of a husband who was running around with other women.

We could obtain very little information on the rites carried out when love power was used. Our chief informant on love power, The Boy, had been offered it on various occasions but had never accepted it, so had not been told the ritual procedures to use, procedures about which the possessors of love power were ap-

[18] See Flannery, 1953, pp. 174, 193.

4: Flannery & Cooper E-5 (1939-1945) 1946
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had to be two buttons, a "short" and a "long" one.[6] Very commonly the game 525
was played inside a lodge, with the main center of interest opposite the door, but outdoor playing also occurred frequently.

When the game took place inside a lodge the arrangement and line up were about as follows. The twelve counters were in one pile at the rear opposite the door. The two teams, of any number each, were lined up from rear to door facing each other, with a tent pole or sections of one before each team to beat time upon and with the wagers placed in view of all between the teams. Each team had its own tally keeper, guesser, hider, assistant hider, and other teammates, ranged in the foregoing order from the counter pile toward the door. We shall call these teams A and B with their respective A and B tally keepers, guessers, and so forth.

The game began with a gambling song, sung, to the measure of a small hand 525
drum and/or beats with sticks on the tent poles lying in front of the teams, by 533
all present, team members and spectators. In 1940 we recorded, as part of a series of 116 Gros Ventre songs, two such gambling songs, sung by The Boy. These two songs are wordless, except for a short sentence or phrase in the middle of each. The wording of one is: ą́niti be´taną (general sense: "It's no use you trying to guess me; I'm 'holy' "). The wording of the other, incomplete (as The Boy could not recall the full native text) is: ą́´tibdjī nǫ́´nǫ'tsǫnen ("dogs" "wet legs": allusion not known to The Boy; the full wording was literally: "dogs wet-legs little-legs"). The tunes are lively ones sung in fast time. Only certain songs could be sung in a gambling game; doctors' songs or Medicine Dance songs were taboo therein. If one of the players had his own gambling song gotten from a prairie chicken or ghost (see *infra*), he would start it and the others (only of his own team or side ?) would sing it with him. In the excitement of a game well under way, grunts would often take the place of songs proper.

Each team selected its best player. One held the short button, the other 525
the long one. Player A (of and for team A) hid his button in one of his hands, putting on a show with motions, feints, and so forth. Player B (of and for team B) went through his own show, and finally guessed by pointing. Then B hid and A guessed him. If both guessed correctly or both incorrectly, they each hid and guessed again, and they kept this up until one had guessed correctly and the other incorrectly. So one won the preliminary, and the tally keeper of the winner's side, let us say team A, took four counters from the pile and laid them on his side. The preliminary win also gave the winner's team the right to hide.

6 Illustrations of buttons and counters in Culin, *op. cit.*, figs. 345-348, p. 271.

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
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787 where the memento was kept. After a while the ghost would
776 come to the keeper, the surviving relative, on successive visits and talk to him (or her), telling him its intention of becoming his ghost helper, and finally putting him in a deep sleep ("killing" him) and saying to him: "I shall be your tsatsawâ·'a." In other words, it was the ghost, not the surviving relative, who regularly took the initiative and broke the ice. In fact, the latter had little or no freedom to accept or refuse.

By the ghost the survivor in trance would be taught the procedure to use for summoning and dealing with the ghost, how to put incense in the smudge place in the person's own lodge, how to lay the pipe, the direction of stem and bowl, what kind of food to put out, and so forth. A key element in such teaching was a special song, given by the ghost to be sung in said rite. One
776 such song, recorded by me in 1940 as sung by The Boy but not
787 yet transcribed, a wordless song sung to the accompaniment of a
791 drum, had belonged to a woman named "Woman." She had
[533] been taught it by the ghost of her deceased husband (or brother), Wawathana'tca * (a's nasalized) "Bad-bad Bull." He had been a medicine man when still living, and this had been his "power" song. His ghost gave it to her both as the song to summon his ghost with and as a doctoring song. She had therefore both ghost-summoning and doctoring power. While that old woman had both a ghost helper and doctoring power, the two things did not necessarily go together in the same person. One could have a ghost helper without having doctoring power, and vice versa. No one lacking a ghost helper could conduct the shaking tent rite, no matter how great power he had received by fasting and crying, and no matter what guardian spirit or spirits he had acquired. After her husband's death the above old woman had not married. People were a little afraid of her because she had this ghost helper. She was a capable old woman, with lots of horses; some of her breed of horses are still (1940) around. She died around 1907.

* Owing to delays and difficulties under present war conditions in obtaining symbols not in our printer's stock a and e with a stroke above them are here printed in italic.

6: Cooper E-5 (1931-1940) 1944
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Other songs, distinct from this summoning or shaking tent rite song, were also given and taught at times by ghost helpers. Two of them, both victory songs, were recorded as sung by The Boy in 1940. These two were given on occasions other than that on which the surviving relative initially acquired his ghost helper.

After all the above teaching was concluded, the ghost of the deceased relative belonged to the survivor and was supposed to come whenever summoned by the latter in the manner the ghost told him while in trance to do. A great many Gros Ventre men and women had guardian spirits and "power" acquired by fasting and crying or otherwise. But fewer individuals, men and women, had ghost helpers. My informants in 1939 and 1940 could recall only four persons in the last two generations or last 70 years or so who had had ghost helpers.

In one case (see first of the two appended stories by Thick) two spirits tried to come to the shaking tent rite conducted by Woman, one bad and the other good, but whether the bad one was one of her deceased relatives or not, she never knew. The people were under the impression that the bad one was an intruder who used to come first and try to "horn in" on the proceedings. No case of a given person clearly having more than one ghost helper was recalled by my informants.

Ordinary "power" could be and often was transferred by the possessor to another person by donation or bequeathment. But a ghost helper never was so transferred and could not be.

It may be added that neither my informants, The Boy and Thick, nor my interpreter, Thomas Main, all highly intelligent and informed men, were at all sure of the etymology of the word tsatsawâ'ª. The Boy thought it might connote the meaning of "slave," "some one who is forced to do things." Thomas Main suggested a possible relationship to tsatsa—"coming, flight"; plus—wa, an old Gros Ventre word, meaning unknown. The two words for ordinary ghosts as such are tsa·k'ª (sing.; pl., tsa·k'an: a's as u in English but), and bie'te'ᵉ (sing.; pl. bi'eten). Tsatsawâ'ª is used exclusively for ghost helpers, not for an ordinary ghost, or ghosts in general. An ordinary medicine man was called nata'nhehi (a's as u in but), but there was no special name

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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of the society. The officers were free to transfer their ceremonial equipment to other members whom they would select. Following the typical Gros Ventre pattern of transfer of ownership, the recipient would present as lavish gifts as he could afford to the donor while the relatives of the recipient showed their appreciation of the favor to their kinsman by giving away expensive gifts in his honor. All of this took place publicly at the dance.

Particular dances and songs were attached to each office and the owners of the ceremonial drumsticks were required to know in correct order all the numerous songs and to provide the musical accompaniment for the whole ceremony. These four drumstick owners were joined in certain of the songs by four women singers selected from among the wives of the Wolf-men. The owners of the various objects were responsible for the proper care thereof, the crow-belts and the drum receiving most respect. When not in use, the crow-belts were kept wrapped in special bundles in the lodges of their respective owners, but were hung outside when the owner's wife was in her menstrual period. Moreover, those who danced wearing the crow-belts were obliged to refrain from sexual relations for two or three days previous to the dancing and, before donning the belts, to make a smudge of sweet-grass to incense themselves and the crow-belts. The drum, too, received special attention. One informant speaks of it as having been "nicely decorated," and we know from Kroeber's description [9] that the trimming was very similar to that of the Assiniboine Grass dance drum.[10]

Procedure. The actual dancing took place in a special circular dancing-place in the center of the camp circle. This "corral," as it was sometimes referred to, was constructed from several lodge covers, but was open at the top and the entrance thereto was at the east. The tipi of the drum-keeper was put up nearby. Opposite the opening of the "corral" was the place of honor where sat the officials,—with the exception of the sword owners, who with their assistants were at either side of the entrance. The

[9] Kroeber, loc. cit., p. 238.

[10] Lowie, R. H., The Assiniboine, AMNH-AP 4, pt. 1, 1909, p. 67.

7: Flannery E-5 (1940, 1945) 1947
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spoon to touch his tongue regardless of consequences. Some hours later in the excitement accompanying the end of the dance, this man's horse was jumping around and broke loose, was chased by a dog and ran against a log projecting from the corner of a corral. The horse was killed. The owner then admitted that this bad luck had befallen him because he had falsely allowed himself to be honored at the dance.

Following upon the performance with the spoon, the dog meat was next distributed to the four warriors, the wounded warrior receiving the head. When the meat was eaten the skull was put down to the west of the fire. The four warriors remained seated while the other members danced for some time. So soon, however, as the singers switched to the appropriate music, the spoon owner dashed to the dog skull and pointed the skull in four directions, and the four warriors danced around, everybody else rising to dance at his place, yelling and calling out, while this song with chorus was sung once. All were then seated except the warriors who pranced around the fire four times. After this each of the four warriors in turn picked up the dog skull, pointed it in the direction in which he had accomplished the particular war deed he was to recount, and related his story. If one of them had been forced to refuse the spoon, the owner of the spoon would have to point the dog skull for him while the warrior talked and gestured. The warrior who had been wounded spoke last, and when he finished he tossed the dog skull outside of the dancing-place.

The owner of the whistle had a particular dance. When the accompaniment started, it was stated, " for some reason he did not dance alone. It seemed that all the members were glad and danced with him and kind of helped him. The song was repeated three more times. At the end of each ' stanza ' the owner of the whistle would dance at the edge of the circle, apart from and very much faster than the other dancers." It was his privilege, too, to " punish " the dancers. At a signal from the owner of the whistle, the singers would switch to the " punishing songs " of which there were said to have been ten in all. No one could drop out of the dancing while these were being sung. Each of the ten songs could

796 be repeated so that it was something of an ordeal. The sword owners would see to it that the dancers kept up, prodding the laggards until the series of songs had been completed.

[533 177] The singers themselves had a smoking song, one of the few songs of the Grass dance for which words were adopted along with the tunes [11] from the Assiniboine. This song indicated a period of rest and relaxation for all but it was required that one of the officers provide the pipe and mixture for the singers.

Any member who left the dancing-place was obliged to surrender some piece of personal property as insurance that he would return. If he did not come back, the property was forfeit.

796 [431] 586 Another distinctive feature of the earlier Grass dance was the throwing away of property and especially of wives. The term "throwing away" is appropriate because a stick was held in the hand and after the holder publicly announced what the stick represented he would throw it to the ground. If, for instance, a member of the society had decided to give away his wife he would take a stick and say: "Here is so-and-so (naming the woman)" and throw the stick down. Sometimes another member would pick up the stick, thus indicating that he was taking this woman, but occasionally it happened that no one grabbed her and in such case the wife in question would return to live with her own relatives. The man who so renounced his wife was supposed to be through with her for good. It was said by informants, however, that once in a while, provided the wife had not been claimed 522 by another, the husband would want her back again. An in- 796 stance in illustration of this point was told to me. A man who 586 stood to my informant in the relation of enemy-friend [12] had so 572 disposed of his wife at a Grass dance. Some time later my informant saw the couple together again. My informant took ad-

[533] [11] Most of the Gros Ventre Grass dance songs have no words proper. This contrasts with the Arapaho Grass dance songs, as my informants are [177] well aware. The difference is perhaps due to the influence on the Arapaho of the Ghost Dance religion (cf. Kroeber, A. L., The Arapaho, AMNH-B 18, pt. 4, 1907, p. 320), which scarcely affected the Gros Ventres.

[572] [12] This was a joking and rivalry relationship entered into by presenting to a fellow tribesman an object captured from the enemy.

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796 178 the original Grass dance, the number participating, however, both as officers and as general audience, being very much larger.

Although the dog ritual, carried out as described for the earlier period, remained the highlight and climax of the Grass dance, the general program had been enlarged to include other features. Not only were procedures introduced in connection with the newer offices, as indicated above, but other items such as the Owl dance and the Ringtail dance were introduced. The order of events was apparently determined by the "chiefs" at each performance of the Grass dance, but the general program did not vary markedly. The Ringtail dance, for instance, was always included at some time.

When the order for the Ringtail dance was given, any who wished to participate formed a circle facing inward and both men and women were free to choose partners of the opposite sex. The man placed his arm over the shoulders of his partner while she placed her arm around his back. The whole group moved in a circle clockwise in rhythm to the music provided by a group of singers other than those who sang and drummed for the dog ritual and other ceremonies in which officers as such participated. [887] Any middle-aged or older woman who wished to do so might join the singers for any of the round dances. If none volunteered then they were sometimes drafted simply by being invited and led over to the spot where the male singers were performing.

796 533 178 It occasionally happened that during this dance, when the singers had "hit the spot,"—aroused the spirit of the crowd and the floor was full,—the singers would stop all of a sudden, but without giving the usual signal to disperse. Then, without advance notice, they would start singing again, but a different song, a "punishing song." This was a feature obviously based on the "punishing songs" of the original Grass dance, but the tunes were different and it was carried out in the following way.

There were only two of these newer "punishing songs" but as soon as the dancers heard the singers start one of them they knew what it meant: "Now we are in for it. We will have to dance and dance!" The singers could sing the first of these

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songs as many times as they pleased, and when tired of that one switched to the others. There was no intermission and the dancers got no rest, even the old women would stand up and dance in one place and the old men would be yelling and calling out from where they sat. It was evidently a very lively scene. The dancers would sweat and get tired, but still there would be no let up. Finally the four wearers of the feathered war bonnets, —two men and two women,—would begin voicing appeals to the four "chiefs": "Please do something to stop this dance!" But the "chiefs" did not act right away. At last one of them would get up and walk around until he approached the wearer of a war-bonnet. He would then remove the bonnet and the people were glad and would cheer and yell, but this was not yet the end. They kept on dancing until a second of the "chiefs" got up and removed a war-bonnet from another of the wearers, which finally brought the Ringtail dance to a close.

It was said that while the women who wore black dresses could have answered the appeal to stop the dance, as a rule they would have hesitated to do so because the ones who took upon themselves this privilege would have to pay heavily for it. When the people had quieted down after the strenuous dance, those who had removed the war-bonnets would get up and announce what they were paying for having done so. One might have said, for instance: "All right. I will kill a beef for the next dance," or "I will give money" and name the sum. He could donate whatever he wished, but it was understood that it would be something really substantial. My informants explained that although the Ringtail dance was a regular feature of the Grass dance program, the "punishing songs" were not sung every time because "the reason for singing them was that the people hoped to have a Grass dance again soon and wanted an elaborate affair and so the singers had to use discretion; if the 'chiefs' happened to be in a good financial condition at the time, they made them 'shell out' in that way."

The owners of the ceremonial drumsticks retained the smoking song as described for the earlier period. It was the "chiefs" who

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796 178 533 [625 681] were supposed to come prepared with pipe, tobacco, and matches in anticipation of this song. If, for some reason, one of the four was unable to furnish at least a pipeful of mixture, and could not borrow one, he was immediately arrested by the owners of the whips and punished by the singers who might tear his shirt at the neck so everyone could see it, or, perhaps, pour over him a good cupful of broth made from dog flesh. This broth has a strong and lasting odor. The female officers were likewise expected to give the women singers a smoke. The smoking song marked an intermission. No one danced to this song and all sat around smoking and taking it easy.

796 178 If things got too dull, however, one of the owners of the whips might get up, call the announcer, and say: "Tell my friends that I am going to whip them if they don't dance. I will have the right to whip them because I am going to pay for it," and he would present a bridle, or perhaps five dollars, or something of that order of magnitude, to anyone he wished. It was understood, then, that the next time the singing started this man might hit any person,—even one of the "chiefs,"—who failed to dance.

Another feature reminiscent of the original Grass dance but showing some slight change, was the provision that anyone who wished might have it announced that he was going to "lock the door," which meant that nobody could go home until the dance was over. For doing this however he had to provide all the necessary food for another Grass dance to be held on the night immediately following. It was up to the owners of the whips to enforce the regulation by taking something valuable, say a hat [689] or a blanket, from anyone who left the dance and the article was forfeit if he failed to return.

796 178 626 Based on the same concept, the practice grew up of forcing attendance in the following way. Once in a while the owners of the whips might order their assistants to go from door to door in the whole community and take something belonging to each householder, say a bridle, or a valuable belt, or a gun, and bring it to the dancing-place. If the owner of the object were not at the dance, his property was returned to him only if he promised

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796 preliminary to the series of Sacred Dances, namely the Fly Dance.
575 After this ceremony was over he was eligible as a "soldier." That is, should one of the members of his "company" vow to give any one of the Sacred Dances in the series, he and other members of the society to which he belonged—either Wolf or Star—would act as police for the time during which the Dance was being held. Thus it was that Stars might police the hunt
[625] and keep order in the camp circle during one such Sacred Dance while Wolves might perform the same duties at another time, depending on which moiety the vower belonged to.

When not engaged as soldiers in connection with one of the Dances, the two societies exhibited the keenest rivalry, particularly in war-deeds, but also in gambling, in foot-racing, and whenever else opportunity offered. One aspect of this rivalry was apparent when each put on its own dance. The general procedure of both was identical but there were a few distinctive features. When the whole tribe was together and there was no serious threat of war, one society or the other would decide the time was ripe to hold its dance. Let us assume that the Star society had so decided.

The members of the Star society would then don their best clothes and, mounted on their finest horses, go around the camp circle accompanied by two especially prominent members who had counted coup against the enemy while on horseback. They would
● [533] sing special begging songs in front of the lodges of several well-to-do members of the opposite society. It was a challenge to the Wolf-men and they usually responded in the accepted fashion by giving large quantities of food, in which their relatives would help them out. This would provide the feast at the dance. The Stars then proceeded to the opening of the camp circle and all dismounting except the two very prominent warriors, formed in a line by twos, the four singers with their hand drums last. To the accompaniment of a marching song the line moved "snake-dance" fashion weaving back and forth, to the dancing lodge which had been erected in the center of the camp circle. At the entrance to the lodge the line divided, some going to the right,

Other features of the program at each performance of the Grass dance included the "punishing" dance, the smoking song, the forfeiture of property, the "throwing away" of property represented by sticks, gift-giving in honor of loved ones.

In 1890 changes in the form of the Grass dance began to be noticeable. By 1900 the Grass dance included all in the tribe who wished to participate. The official personnel had been expanded to include four "chiefs," four war-bonnet owners, two owners of ceremonial black dresses, two women whip-owners and two female assistants. Transfer of all offices was, however, carried out as before.

The dog ritual continued unchanged to be the highlight of the program. Perhaps the most obvious change in procedure was the inclusion of round dances, especially the Ringtail dance, in which both men and women participated and for which "punishing" songs had been devised. The smoking song and the forfeiture of property were retained, but with some elaborations. Although the "throwing away" of property gradually disappeared, the gift-giving in honor of relatives was very much emphasized. Other very minor changes were inaugurated at intervals up until about 1916.

The changing functions of the Grass dance coincide with the changing form and can likewise be considered as of two periods, —the first from 1875–80 to 1890; the second from 1890 to 1916.

In the first period the function of the Grass dance was a relatively minor one. It was adopted, and fitted into place, as a substitute for the simpler and less colorful dance of the Wolf soldier society, and paralleled the dance of the other soldier society, the Star society. In view especially of the preliminary "begging" songs, the Grass dance seemingly was the expression of but one phase of the intense rivalry between the two soldier societies.

With the extinction of the buffalo in 1884 came the breakdown of the older culture. By 1890 not only had most of the public religious rites disappeared, but the social organization was greatly altered. As the economic basis was changed, the nomadic life and the camp circle were abandoned, and the two soldier societies no

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the shots and went later to see what happened, and there I saw her lying across the fire; her dress had burned off and her body was all shriveled. They weren't satisfied to kill her, but they burned her too!" She maintained her attitude and all the scolding from her relatives was of no avail.

Before turning to her adult life, we may refer to another instance which illustrates Coming Daylight's sensitivity to the suffering of others. In the Sacrifice Lodge, which is the Gros Ventre version of the well-known Plains Sun Dance, one of the important features was the spectacular self-torture which the active participants underwent. Each one had a sliver of wood embedded in the flesh of his chest. To the wood was tied a line, the other end of which was fastened high on the center-pole of the lodge. The man, leaning back so that the line was taut, went back and forth until finally the sliver was torn from his flesh. Meanwhile the women cheered on their relatives by "rattling their tongues," singing war songs, and the like, by way of encouraging the men to be brave and see the thing through. Coming Daylight was quite a young child when she first witnessed this performance. She remembered vividly her reaction when one of the young men, in his exhaustion, went to the center-pole and, putting his arms around it, wept aloud. She was not able to stand it any longer and rushed home crying. Her grandmother was very angry with her for leaving in the middle of the performance, but all the little girl could say was: "Oh, I just pitied that young man," and she could not be induced to return to the dance lodge. We may add here that actually in later years she did not participate in the Sacrifice Lodge even so far as women were allowed to do so.

The examples we have given are sufficient to show, I believe, that Coming Daylight had developed as a child a very strong set against violence, against painful and dangerous experiences. She refused medicine power from supernatural sources not only because it was dangerous but also because it involved a kind of physical activity which was repugnant to her. She refused to mutilate herself and was extremely sensitive to painful experiences in others. Her actual deviations from the patterns of accepted or approved behavior all tended in this same direction against violence. Her adult behavior likewise was consistent with this trend in her personality.

In consonance with her feeling against physical violence Coming Daylight avoided as far as possible the rough-and-tumble play in which brother-in-law and sister-in-law were free to, and indeed expected to, indulge. Other women told with glee how they enjoyed "getting even" with their brothers-in-law by, for instance, pushing them when fully clothed into the river, or dumping bucketfuls of water over their heads when they least expected it, and so on; but Coming Daylight admitted without hesitation that she didn't like that sort of thing and never attempted to retaliate even when her brothers-in-law succeeded in playing jokes on her. Similarly while it was not unusual for women rivals to actively fight over a man, she refrained from such undignified behavior, although it must be admitted that she had enough provocation on at least one occasion of which she told me. She had just married a man who was described by others as something of a gay Lothario. A woman who had been trying to force her attentions on him was furious when she heard of the marriage. She rushed to the lodge and pulled Coming Daylight out feet first, yelling insults the while. When the latter regained her feet she made no attempt to hit back even though the other slapped her and pulled off an earring, tearing the lobe of the ear. Coming Daylight, however, bided her time and soon was able to make an opportunity for an exchange of words with the woman at a big social dance.

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and, each time he attempted to get to his knees, one of two women who had already reached the scene would strike him on the buttocks with the flat side of a hatchet, making an insulting remark, and both would laugh. Coming Daylight hesitated at some distance from where the other two were gloating over the fallen enemy. When one of them, Woman Chief by name, saw her she ran to her saying: "Why are you standing so far off?" She grabbed her by the arm and pushed a big club into her hand, saying: "He is still alive—you will do a great thing. *Ahe:ya'!*" Woman Chief forced Coming Daylight to strike him.

While both Woman Chief and Coming Daylight closely approximated the ideal for women as faithful wives and efficient workers who gave generously of their material goods to and on behalf of their relatives, they seemingly differed in temperament. Woman Chief was known as a very brave woman, and Coming Daylight was frank in admitting she would never have dreamed of doing the kinds of things for which Woman Chief was renowned. One of the latter's exploits, for example, was as follows. The Gros Ventres and Crow were allies in an encounter with the Piegan. The battle was in full force, but one Crow had withdrawn and was sitting motionless astride his horse at some distance from the melee. Woman Chief, who in contrast to most women was always well mounted, dashed up to the Crow, grabbed his wand from his hand, and rode pellmell into the thick of the battle, counting coups right and left. So brave was she considered in having really risked her life that she was accorded the distinction, most unusual for a woman, of being led around the camp circle with the victorious warriors. Furthermore, so many people came to sing in front of her lodge that she and her relatives, to show their appreciation of the honor, were forced to give away as much property as though she were a man. Judging on the basis of other biographical material, there can be no doubt that she gloried in her reputation and took every opportunity to enhance it. She was one to whom the more violent aspects of Gros Ventre culture were exceedingly congenial.

If we compare and contrast these two women we can say that insofar as the patterns of Dionysian configuration are the basis of the comparison, their behavior exhibits opposite extremes, the one going beyond the average in the direction of the configuration, the other running counter to and participating less than the average therein. Both might be termed deviant personalities in Honigman's sense of the term,[2] one overplaying and the other underplaying modal behavior in these selected patterns. Nevertheless, neither seems to have been a misfit insofar as each represents an extreme of socially accepted or sanctioned behavior within those patterns. If, for instance, Coming Daylight had been completely negative, and refused, say, to carry out at least the culturally defined minimum for mourning, had she, in addition to refusing to mutilate herself for the recovery of her ill relatives, neglected as an adult even the safe and less strenuous means to that end, she would have fallen without the pale, so to speak, and have been a misfit. If, at the opposite end of the scale, Woman Chief had gone further in the direction of masculinity, had she actually gone on raiding expeditions and herself stolen horses from the camp of the enemy, had she learned to shoot the bow and arrow or gun, or had she so much as adopted the vocabulary and/or pronunciation proper for males in the Gros Ventres language, she would have been carrying things too far. She, too, would have been dubbed a misfit.

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